DOI 10.17953/aicrj.39.2.sayre

ARTICLES

Self-Portraiture and Commodification in the Work of Huron/Wendat Artist Zacharie Vincent, aka "Le Dernier Huron"

Gordon M. Sayre

Let us begin at the end, with the portrait painted in 1838 by Antoine Plamondon entitled *Le Dernier Huron*, or *The Last Huron*.[1] At that time, during the Patriot Rebellions in Canada and the Jacksonian period in the United States, the ideology of the "vanishing Indian" and the cliché "the last of his tribe" were at their height of influence. While James Fenimore Cooper's 1826 novel *The Last of the Mohicans* is the best-known work today, the period from the 1820s until Canadian Confederation and the United States Civil War in the 1860s produced many works of literature, theater and art with such titles.[2] The Huron Nation, who call themselves Wendats, were of special interest to Canadians, as they had been close allies of the French since Samuel de Champlain's first expedition into the Great Lakes in 1616, and had also been the focus of French missionary efforts since the 1630s, when Jesuits including Jean de Brébeuf evangelized in the Wendat homelands near Lake Huron's Georgian Bay, and wrote the now-classic ethnographic accounts of the Hurons in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1634–1636. Hence, the idea of *The Last Huron* carried a nationalist and colonialist import in Canada even more strongly than Cooper's novel did in the United States.[3]

This essay examines the life and art of the man who posed for Plamondon's painting and embodied Huron "lastness": Zacharie Vincent, aka Tehariolin (January 28, 1815–October 9, 1886).[4] In the first half of this article I argue that "Le Dernier Huron," and

GORDON M. SAYRE is professor of English and folklore at the University of Oregon, where he teaches courses on early American and Native literature. His most recent book is the translation *The Memoir of Lieutenant Dumont, 1715–1747, A Sojourner in the French Atlantic* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012). He held a Fulbright Fellowship at Université Laval, Québec, in 2012, where research on this article began.

Figure 1: *Antoine Plamondon,* Le Dernier Huron *(1838). Private collection and Musée National des Beaux-Arts de Québec (MNBAQ). Image courtesy of MNBAQ.*

the "last of the tribe" cliché in general, resonated differently in Canada than it did in Jacksonian America because Francophone *canadiens* perceived themselves as threatened by the same tide of Anglo-Saxon immigration, domination, and progress that was predicted to overwhelm or assimilate the indigenous peoples of North America.[5] The second half analyzes some of Tehariolin's extant self-portraits—a fraction of the total works he created, most of which are lost—to consider how the commodification of Native identity in the form of artisanal and souvenir artifacts both popularized and

undermined the ideology of the vanishing Indian. These artifacts include the self-portraits, drawings, and photographs that Tehariolin produced and sold, as well as snowshoes, canoes, and moccasins made in Wendake and elsewhere in Canada.

"Le Dernier Huron"

Zacharie Vincent was twenty-three years old at the time he posed for the portrait. His uncle Nicolas had been the chief of the Huron community in Wendake and his father, Gabriel, considered himself to be of pure tribal ancestry and the last exemplar of traditional Huron culture. Gabriel educated Zacharie and his other children in the Wendat language at a time when French had long been the lingua franca for the Hurons of Wendake (or Jeune Lorette), a town established in 1697 around the mission church of Notre Dame de Lorette, roughly fifteen kilometers northwest of Quebec City. Following his father's example, Zacharie Vincent continued to embrace the epithet of the last pure Huron, and to wear, or at least paint himself wearing, the regalia of a Huron chief.[6]

After posing for Antoine Plamondon, Zacharie may have been inspired by the remuneration and renown the portrait brought to its creator, for he took up painting himself. There are hints that the Vincent and Plamondon families had known each other for some time, and some accounts report that Plamondon, who had been raised in Ancienne Lorette across the St. Charles River from the Huron town, gave art lessons to his portrait subject. Tehariolin continued his artistic efforts for more than forty years, producing paintings, sketches and drawings, portraits, landscapes, and local color scenes that straddle the division between fine art and popular souvenir art. More than thirty of his works are extant today in Quebec in museums and private collections, but this is a small fraction of his lifetime output. Since the 1980s Zacharie Vincent has been the topic of several journal articles and conference panels, as well as two museum exhibits (at the Chateau Ramezay in Montreal in 1987 and at the Musée Huron-Wendat in Wendake in 2009). In the exhibits he was identified as the first successful indigenous artist in Canada. The proclamation of a "first," as of a "last," enhances the value of the item being presented, whether a person, a text, an artifact, or artwork. The enhanced value follows from the basic laws of a supply-and-demand market, for both *first* and *last* imply singularity. That a museum would proclaim him the "first successful indigenous artist" also relies on market forces that differentiate fine art from commercial or souvenir art. Tehariolin's extant paintings and drawings are displayed as his artistic creations, whereas baskets, moccasins, canoes, and bead and quillwork also displayed in the same museums are rarely identified as the works of specific artists. However, as we shall see, Tehariolin's career and oeuvre also complicates this distinction between fine art and folk arts or crafts.

Obituaries following Zacharie Vincent's death in 1886 reported that he was self-taught and "had painted and sketched over six hundred pictures; some of which were bought by governors-generals etc. . . . He painted pictures of himself and sold them to Lord Durham, Lord Elgin, Lord Monk, the Princess Louise and others."[7] Zacharie Vincent's aristocratic client list was matched by Plamadon with the sale of his 1838

painting of Vincent, which had also found a prestigious buyer. Plamondon had entered the work in a contest for local artists sponsored by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the city's earliest learned society, which was and remains an Anglophone institution in a Francophone city. The painting won the prize medal and was celebrated as a signal artistic achievement by a *canadien*. Plamondon proudly exhibited his work "in the studio of its author, in the Parliament building."[8] Within a few months the governor general of Canada, Lord Durham, had purchased it for his private collection. Durham took the painting with him back to England when he sailed on November 1, 1838, and it remained there for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The painting was sold by Durham's descendants in 1932, and sold again in 1982 to Fred Schaeffer of Toronto. As University of Saskatchewan professor Len Findlay notes, "It was repatriated to Canada in 1982 and has since then been generously loaned by its Ontario-based owners for major exhibitions across the country, most recently for 'Art of this Land' at the National Gallery in Ottawa."[9]

The coincidence that the painting was returned or "repatriated" to Canada in the same year that the Canadian constitution was repatriated adds to the nationalist significance of the work. It may not have the same historical status as Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe*, but it has become all the more a significant work of Canadian nationalist art because its connection to Native and Francophone identities in Canada balances the British imperialism of *The Death of General Wolfe*. Durham himself perceived that the value of *Le Dernier Huron* derived from its aura of romantic grief and melancholy. Findlay adds that, "The depiction of a doomed lineage would appeal to him (Lord Durham) because of its romantic pathos, resonating no doubt with the experience of frequent illness and death among his intimates, including his first wife and several of his children, and the specter of himself as the last Lambton."[10]

The Vanishing Indian and the Colonial Politics of Lower Canada

Amid the tumultuous events of 1838, *Le Dernier Huron*, its painter Plamondon, and its subject Tehariolin all became involved in the cultural politics of the French/English rivalry in Lower Canada. The emblematic Huron came to represent the oppression and resistance of French Canadian cultural nationalists, even as the Huron people had themselves been colonized and oppressed by the French Canadians for more than two centuries. Following the English conquest of Canada in 1759 led by General James Wolfe, Francophone *canadiens* had been subject to imperial rule from London, and commercial and financial affairs in Quebec City and Montreal had come to be dominated by English and Scots fur traders and capitalists. A legislative assembly for Lower Canada, created in 1791 and convened in the city of Quebec, had a Francophone majority but its votes could not be implemented without approval of the British governor general, and so in practice Lower Canada was governed by the so-called Chateau Clique of powerful men surrounding the governor, nearly all of them Anglophone.

In the winter of 1837–1838 began the Patriot Rebellions led by Louis-Joseph Papineau, whose Patriote party had prevailed in the elections of 1834 by a vote of 483,639 to 28,278.[11] Papineau issued a list of ninety-two resolutions calling for a more democratic political structure, as in the United States, a petition that gathered eighty thousand signatures. Nationalist fervor ran high and some Patriote leaders tried to solicit aid from the United States for a second bourgeois revolution against British rule in North America. One Patriote leader, Robert Nelson, operating from an exile in Vermont with some three hundred militia, declared on February 28, 1838 a republic of Lower Canada. But the Patriotes lacked the arms and military expertise to resist British imperial soldiers, and their leaders were quickly apprehended. Several were deported to Australia and Tasmania.

In response to this rebellion the British government appointed as the new governor general of Canada Lambton Lord Durham, known as a liberal Whig reformist, with an assignment to resolve the political conflict. Durham arrived on May 27, 1838. Many Francophones were at first hopeful that he would be sympathetic to their cause. François-Xavier Garneau honored him in a poem, "À Lord Durham," which appeared in the patriotic Francophone newspaper *Le Canadien* in 1838. But *canadiens* were sorely disappointed when the next year Durham issued the assessment he had been sent to Canada to make, his *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1839). From the first pages, Durham wrote in the idiom of imperialist race consciousness: "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle, not of principles, but of races."[12] He recommended political reforms designed to accelerate the assimilation of *canadiens* into the British empire and to reinforce Anglophone political control, notably by a union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada (roughly corresponding to southern Ontario and Quebec), an idea that had already been put forward by the Anglophone elite. With the two provinces combined as one, a new single legislative assembly would have an Anglophone majority, for whereas Francophones outnumbered Anglophones 450,000 to 150,000 in Lower Canada, nearly all the 400,000 Upper Canada residents were Anglophone. Although he cited these figures in his *Report*, Durham rhetorically exaggerated the English majority, and conflated linguistic with national and racial identity:

> The French Canadians . . . ever must be isolated in the midst of an Anglo-Saxon world. Whatever may happen, whatever government shall be established over them, British or American, they can see no hope for their nationality. . . . It is but a question of time and mode . . . I know of no national distinctions marking and continuing a more hopeless inferiority. The language, the laws, the character of the North American Continent are English; and every race but the English (I apply this to all who speak the English language) appears there in a condition of inferiority.[13]

In these and many other passages from *Lord Durham's Report*, one could replace the words "French Canadians" with "American Indians," and the document would plausibly read as the work of a Jacksonian politician or ideologue in the United States

such as Lewis Cass or Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. The racist ideology of Anglo-Saxon manifest destiny, couched in rhetoric that proclaimed assimilation and extinction to be benevolent acts toward inferior peoples, was much the same with respect to *canadiens* or to American Indians. The most notorious line Durham wrote in the *Report*, the one most often quoted with anger and disdain by Quebecois, is that the *canadiens français* "are a people with no history, and no literature." Read in context, the line may refer to the absence, at that time, of a substantial corpus of historical or literary works published in French in Canada, a lack that would soon be addressed by François-Xavier Garneau's three-volume *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* (1845–1848), the first major work of Francophone Canadian nationalist historiography. Nonetheless, the line still stings, for it relegates *canadiens* to the status of primitives, of "people without history" (to use Eric Wolf's phrase).[14] And *Le Dernier Huron*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and other "last of" works foretelling extinction redoubled the damage by insisting that French Canadians, Hurons, or Mohicans did not have a future either.[15]

In this highly charged political context Tehariolin's portrait as *Le Dernier Huron* was exhibited in 1838. *Canadien* commentators construed Plamondon's portrait of Tehariolin as an elegy for their own vanishing race. An article in *Le Canadien* published on April 30, 1838 celebrated Plamondon's painting and linked the romantic elegy for the last Huron to an elegy for the *canadiens*: "We ourselves, perhaps, we shall disappear in the face of a more powerful nation. The strong hunt the weak; this, in two words, is the story of the children of Adam, and the painting by Mr. Plamondon unfurls it for us on a small scale. . . . let us build some monuments to ourselves before we are engulfed in the tide of emigration!"[16] The "tide of emigration," or similar phrases such as "wave of Anglo-Saxon domination," was a common metaphor of racist manifest destiny and—given that 217,185 people from the British Isles came to Canada between 1830 and 1837—understandable, although many of these immigrants were Irish. Henry David Thoreau, writing of his visit to Quebec City in 1850, also used the metaphor in his travel narrative: "The impression made on me was, that the French Canadians were even sharing the fate of the Indians, or at least gradually disappearing in what is called the Saxon current."[17]

During the American Revolution patriots sometimes appropriated Native identities with the aim of resisting British colonialism, as in the Boston Tea Party and the Tammany Societies.[18] After the revolution, the United States government's policy of assimilation set a goal of erasing the difference between Natives and colonists by assimilating the former and eradicating indigenous languages and cultural practices. The process in Canada was more complex, for the British colonial regime set a goal of subordinating and assimilating both Native people and *canadiens*, two populations that were distinct and yet partly amalgamated. In both places, however, the ideology of the vanishing Indian curated the process of extinction by elevating the last pure exemplars of Native culture and identity, and collecting them for display in libraries and museums. Francophone *canadiens*—colonizers until 1759, and then a colonized people—occupied a mediating role in this process. As art historian Louise Vigneault describes it in one of her several fine articles about Zacharie Vincent:

> If, on the Anglophone side, artists like Paul Kane and Emily Carr took upon themselves a mission of recording the traces of indigenous cultures in the process of disappearing, adopting an outlook divided between fascination and a concern for preservation, it seems that for the Francophones, this attraction was more often motivated by a feeling of empathy and a reflex of identification with these same Native cultures.

Or as Vigneault's colleague François-Marc Gagnon writes of Plamondon's paintings, "the Indian serves less as a motif of exoticism and more as a pretext for painting sentiments shared by the French Canadians."[19] The most direct literary expression of the "last of his tribe" trope in Canadian literature was the poem entitled "Le Dernier Huron" published in *Le Canadien* in 1840 by then-notary and soon-to-be nationalist historian François-Xavier Garneau. In a preface, Garneau acknowledged Plamondon's painting of Zacharie Vincent as his inspiration:

> The idea for the verses that follow is due to the painting by our artist, Monsieur Plamondon, who won the annual prize from the Literary [and Historical] Society of Quebec in 1838, and which Lord Durham has purchased. This painting is a full-length portrait of Vincent Tehariolin. . . . How bitter must be the reflections of the young Indian, when he looks back at a past in which his ancestors ruled, scarcely more than two hundred years ago, over a large part of this vast land?[20]

The poem and its preface posit a common experience for the *canadiens* and the Hurons. The line "scarcely more than two hundred years ago" refers to the period from 1600 to 1630, when Champlain established the first permanent settlement at Quebec and then traveled to the Hurons in their homeland south of Lake Huron, and thus hints at an appropriation both of Huron "lastness" and territorial sovereignty by the French. Garneau used the romantic conceit of imagining a distant future in which the civilizations of his day would be in ruins:

Orgueilleux aujourd'hui qu'ils ont mon héritage,
Ces peuples font rouler leurs chars
Où jadis s'assemblait, sous le sacré feuillage,
Le Conseil de nos veillards. . . (lines 113–116).
Mais il viendra pour eux le jour de la vengeance,
Où l'on brisera leurs tombeaux.
Un autre peuple armé, fils de la providence,
Ravagera leurs coteaux
Sur les débris de leurs cités pompeuses (lines 121–125).

[Proud today that they have my inheritance,
These people roll their wagons
Beneath the sacred branches where once assembled
The Council of our elders. . . .
But a day of vengeance shall come for them
When their tombs shall be broken open.

Another well-armed people, the sons of Providence,
    Will pillage their hillsides;
Atop the debris of their pompous cities.]

The poem's cosmic temporality, and its future tense, suggest that the "other armed people" are both the French colonists breaking into the tombs of the Hurons, and the English conquerors seizing the lands of the *canadiens*. In a manner more tendentious than Plamondon's portrait of Zacharie Vincent, Garneau marshaled the "last of his tribe" cliché to invoke Romantic melancholy on behalf of a collective identity, *les canadiens*. The poem's singular "le dernier" dissolves into a plural, collective, national identity of Hurons and/or *canadiens*: "*ils suspendaient leurs armes à des pins*" (line 62) ["they hang their arms from these pine trees"], and "*ils ont mon héritage / Ces peuples*" (lines 113–114) ["They have my heritage / These peoples"].

Lyric poetry often employs allegory, apostrophe, and metaphor to mystify or expand a lyric persona across time and space. In United States literature of the same era, the poetic persona of William Cullen Bryant's "The Prairies" asserts both presence and metaphysical absence; he is at one site (the Illinois prairie in the 1830s) yet also another (New York City, where Bryant lived) and sees centuries into the future as the prairie is transformed by history, both human and natural. This perspective can imagine its own extinction (or that of its "race"), and yet also transport itself into the mythic future to witness vengeance in the form of the tombs or ruins of the nation or race that has conquered it.[21] The Huron/Wendat nation was no more interested in assimilating than were the *canadiens français*, and both have survived and flourished into the present. Tehariolin's artistic approach to preserving his people in the face of imperial domination was quite different from Garneau's, for he could not use the same impersonal, historiographic distance.

Zacharie Vincent and Wendat Economic Self-Determination

Tehariolin's goal as a painter was not only to ensure his tribe's survival but also to secure his own material needs, and he lived and worked in a time when the industrial production of consumer goods was growing in Canada, including at Wendake, and engraving and photography were displacing painting as the dominant medium for popular graphic art. The Hurons of Wendake, always a trading people, participated in these developments, and their town became the commercial, suburban community that it still is today.

After sitting for the portrait by Plamondon, Tehariolin sought a way to reclaim control of his image, and to earn some of the fame and remuneration that the esteemed *canadien* painter had garnered. Plamondon had earned a reputation as an arrogant and jealous man who deprecated the work of any rising artist who might threaten his status as Quebec's leading painter, and whereas *Le Dernier Huron* had made Tehariolin famous, it had also inflicted "lasting" damage. If Plamondon labeled him "Le dernier Huron," Tehariolin would have to show that Plamondon could not corner the market on Hurons by creating and selling the last one off the shelf, and that he, a Huron, could produce his own self-portraits, as well as paintings and

drawings of the Huron community. As Arjun Appadurai has observed, drawing upon the theories of the pioneering social theorist Georg Simmel, "it is exchange that sets the parameters of utility and scarcity, rather than the other way around."[22] That is to say, the value of Plamondon's portrait lay not in the scarcity or "lastness" of its subject, Zacharie Vincent, but rather in the fact that Lord Durham, the man charged with extinguishing *canadien* culture, had purchased it and taken it to England. Tehariolin would prove that he could make and sell not just one, but many images of his Huron-ness.

Writing in *the Journal of Canadian Art History*, Louise Vigneault and Isabelle Masse have discussed Tehariolin's art as following elite artistic conventions, including the Madonna and Child and heroic nineteenth-century portraits of American Indian leaders such as Tecumseh—of whom Zacharie Vincent drew a sketch based on widely disseminated engravings. I wish to propose that Tehariolin was also working in the more prosaic genre of souvenir art, and that the serial repetition and hyper-productivity of his oeuvre functioned as a critique of the Romantic privilege for the unique, the singular, and the heroic, all of which had contributed to the "last of his tribe" cliché. Tehariolin acknowledged the forces that commodified his image, and yet he ironized and defied the catch-22 of assimilation and authenticity: colonizers demand that colonized peoples assimilate, but when they do assimilate they are accused of being degraded and inauthentic. A related catch-22 applies to Native art works and collectibles: crafts such as headdresses, totem poles, birchbark canoes, and many other objects, are highly valued so long as non-Indian collectors and dealers can maintain control of the objects and curate them in museums or galleries. But once the artifacts are produced in mass quantities and/or sold by Indians themselves, the objects are considered inauthentic, they shift in status from rare artifact to commercial commodity, and their value declines. As art historian Ruth Phillips describes this double bind: "When Indians resist the commodification of their culture they retain respect and nobility but doom themselves, as cultural beings, to die. When they succumb, however, they reveal their weakness and are rejected as 'deteriorated people' without cultural value."[23]

Tehariolin worked on the cusp of the division between high and low, elite and souvenir arts. He had to evade both the general tendency of elite romantic-era artists to mourn that which they were in the process of killing, the phenomenon Renato Rosaldo has called "imperialist nostalgia," and the more specific impulse of the portraitist Plamondon and the poet Garneau to monopolize and appropriate the identity of Le Dernier Huron. Images of dying or disappearing heroes, such as in the most famous Canadian history painting of all, Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe*, are elite and Romantic not simply because of their edifying and elegiac mood, but also because they link the finality and singularity of death to the singular authenticity of a great work of art. The final, the "last of," the dying, or the unique become tropes for the artifact as well as for its subject, and thus enhance the artifact's value.[24] Yet enhanced value is also an irresistible lure to increase revenue by increasing production. In fact, so great was the demand, and so lucrative the money to be made from selling additional canvases of *The Death of General Wolfe*, Benjamin West painted six copies. Today one

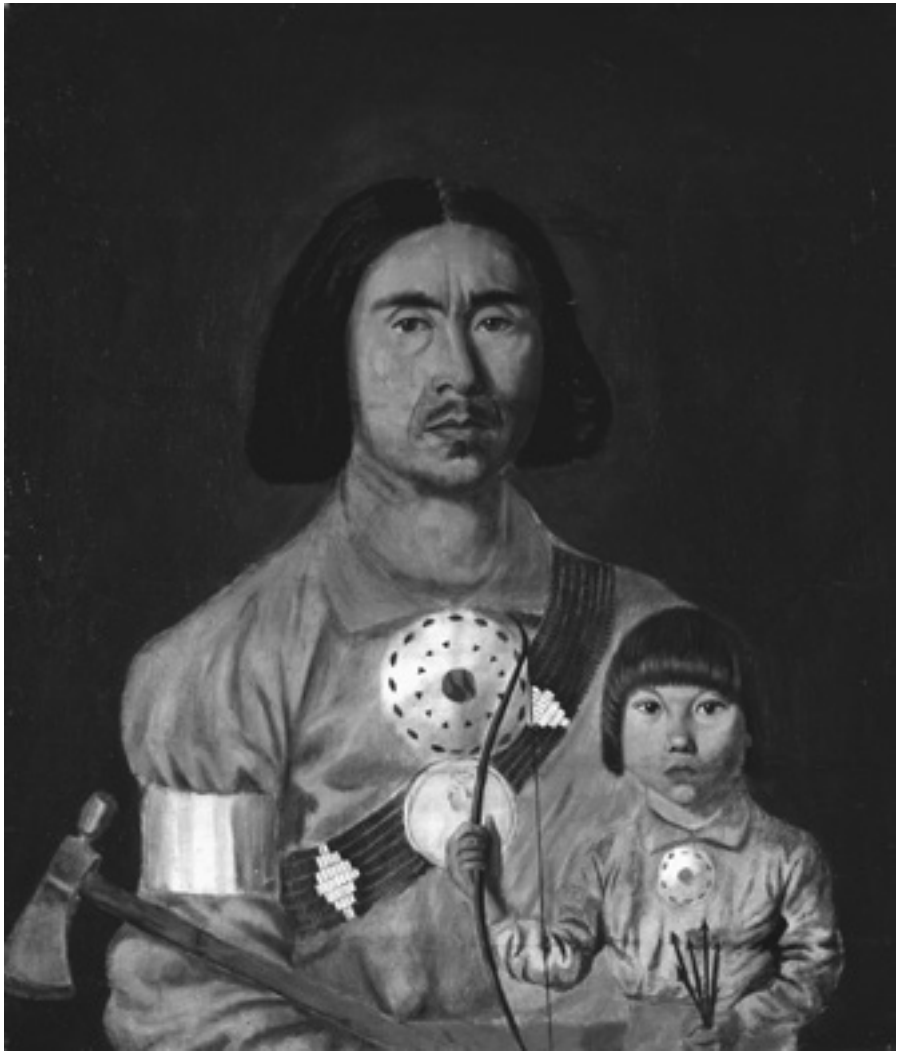

Figure 2: *Zacharie Vincent,* Zacharie Vincent et son fils Cyprien [Zacharie Vincent and his son Cyprien]*, c. 1852. Image courtesy of MNBAQ (accession no. 1947.156).*

hangs in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, and another in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. James Wolfe's celebrity was so great in the 1760s and 1770s that engravings of West's painting and other images of Wolfe were reproduced and sold on a huge scale. In addition to engravings of paintings, there was a plethora of knick-knacks, collectibles, and gift objects, which art historian Alan McNairn identifies as one of the first instances of celebrity commodification in European culture.[25]

Judging from his extant works, Tehariolin's first response to Plamondon's *Le Dernier Huron* was to paint a portrait of himself and his eldest son Cyprien, who

had been born some six months after his marriage to Marie Falardeau in 1848.[26] Cyprien, wearing a tunic and *couette* that match his father's, and holding a miniature bow and arrows, continues the Huron "race" and defies Plamondon's declaration of "dernier."[27] But whereas Tehariolin had only one son who survived into adulthood, a possible heir to the "last of the race" moniker, he painted at least two versions of the self-portrait with Cyprien sitting on his lap, and dozens or possibly hundreds of self-portraits alone.[28]

In mid-nineteenth century North America, portraits of Indian leaders were very popular, and artists sought to capitalize on this popularity by publishing illustrated books. George Catlin's "Indian Gallery" of more than six hundred paintings, and his two-volume *Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the American Indians* (1841) are best known today, but Catlin was preceded by Thomas McKenney and James Hall's *The Indian Tribes of North America with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs* (1836) with more than a hundred lithographs, most after portraits by Charles Bird King. The subjects of the portraits, however, even if paid at the time of the sitting, received nothing from the sales of those reproductions. Zacharie Vincent was a "principal chief" who would not surrender his principal, and maintained an interest in the production and sale of each image he made of himself. With each serial reproduction and sale of a self-portrait, the less "last" Tehariolin became. He became instead a polymorphous figure who took on various costumes and whose image proliferated around Canada and beyond. In doing so he was of course ensuring his own artistic survival, for reproducing himself in art was his livelihood. He also bore witness to the continuance of the Huron nation as a political, cultural, and economic community centered in Wendake.

In the extant self-portraits Tehariolin's facial expression is remarkably consistent, but the clothing, possessions, and backgrounds he painted to adorn his figure vary. In the self-portraits and in Plamondon's portrait, many objects are represented that symbolize authenticity, autochthony, or "Huronnité." Tehariolin's paintings employed tropes of emblem and metonym as he represented himself amidst an array of objects that signified his Huron/Wendat heritage, his status as a leader in the Wendake community, and the shifting modes of the tribe's survival in the nineteenth century. In the 1838 article in *Le Canadien* about *Le Dernier Huron*, an article François-Marc Gagnon believes was written by Antoine Plamondon himself, the subject's status as a proud, authentic Huron is described through a series of blazons, or dismembered elements of his body, and then through his possessions, and finally through similes linking him to other commodities:

> When we gaze for the first time at his long black hair, curls flowing down over his shoulders, and his strongly characteristic features: copper complexion, glittering eyes, his handsome cloak with belt from which hangs his cutlass; we recognize the son of the free men, the hunter and warrior of the vast forests, the canoeman of the great lakes, the last scion of a noble and intrepid nation, who has disappeared from in front of us even as the beaver of our rivers, and the elk of our woods, and as we ourselves, perhaps, will disappear in the face of a more powerful nation.[29]

The list invokes several tropes of the vanishing Indian, including the game animals that were hunted to near extinction in the late-nineteenth century (the beaver served this role in Canada as did the buffalo in the United States). The article does not mention, however, the most prominent possession, the medal hanging around Vincent's neck. These medals, usually adorned with the head of a monarch, a president, or a colonial official, were among the most powerful symbolic commodities in Native Americans' diplomatic relationship with colonial France, Britain, and the United States. Zacharie's great-uncle Nicolas Vincent, grand chief of the Hurons of Lorette, had traveled to London in 1825 for an audience with King George IV, who gave him one such medal. Colonial agents commonly awarded other medals to Native chiefs as tokens of alliance; Thomas Jefferson distributed many. They became increasingly common around the time Tehariolin lived. A popular account of the Jeune Lorette or Wendake community in 1900 reported:

> Until 1854, most families in the village of [Jeune] Lorette received an annual distribution of various objects designated as "presents from the King" that consisted of ammunition for hunting (powder, balls, lead, etc.), of woolen blankets, blue cloth, Indian knives, copper kettles, etc. Also, the chiefs after their election, on behalf of the sovereign monarch, were given a beautiful and costly silver medal, struck with the image of the King or Queen of England.[30]

Tehariolin in his self-portraits nearly always painted himself wearing a medal. In some cases the face is that of Queen Victoria, while in others it cannot be discerned. Tehariolin had been named *chef de conseil* or council chief in 1852, and no doubt wished to show himself as a leader of his people. But a medal of Queen Victoria also shows the wearer's status as a subject of the British imperial monarch, undermining national status and that of the *canadiens*.

In the self-portrait that hangs in the permanent exhibit at the Chateau de Ramezay museum in Montreal, Tehariolin painted himself wearing both a medal and, just above it, a *couette*.[31] The brassards or armbands—as well as wristbands, earrings, and crown, all apparently in silver—multiply the symbols of status and wealth beyond the regalia of a chief toward a level of conspicuous consumption. Moreover, as Vigneault observes of a similar self-portrait at the Musée de la Civilisation in Quebec City, "this jewelry often diverge from traditional ornaments and are adapted as colonial objects; for example, the silver ornaments were traditionally made from shells," and the feathers and Maltese cross on the crown resemble that of the Prince of Wales, son of Queen Victoria, ruler of Canada and the rest of the British empire.[32]

The Work of Art and the Challenges of Native Reproduction

Some of the ornaments Tehariolin painted into his self-portraits conveyed his status as a chief, as recognized by his tribe but also through the values of the colonizers. By the mid-nineteenth century many of these objects also were becoming mass-produced commodities. Louise Vigneault senses this tension:

Figure 3: *Zacharie Vincent,* Self-Portrait. *Image courtesy of Château Ramezay–Historic Site and Museum of Montréal.*

> By juxtaposing in each case elements deriving from the western culture and from the indigenous material culture, Vincent sought to avoid having his works considered by the elite as commercial objects, as mere curiosities among so many others. Thus, the artist did not deny the reality of cultural *métissage*, on the contrary affirming its existence so as to better move beyond it, much as the prey imitates its predator, so as to fool and escape from its grasp.[33]

I concur with the sense of *métissage* Vigneault sees here, but it is not always easy to sort these objects into "western" or "indigenous." The objects' modes of production and consumption often involve cross-cultural forces, call attention to both material and symbolic dimensions, and reveal the transcultural routes of exchange. For example copper kettles (*chaudières*, or the smaller *chaudrons*) were a staple of the fur trade from the sixteenth century, when kettles were manufactured in western France or the Basque countries specifically for trade on the coasts of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But they came to be used by Indians in new ways, as ceremonial grave goods, or melted down and refashioned into objects including *couettes* and knives. The pipe-tomahawk or *calumet-hache* depicted in at least three of the self-portraits is another hybrid object. Apparently it had been invented by colonists in the eighteenth century to supplement Native treaty protocols, especially in the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, in which calumets held a powerful symbolism of peace or dialogue. In contrast to a peace pipe, a tomahawk or *casse-tete* symbolized violence and war. By the mid-nineteenth century the two opposing symbolic objects had been combined into one, perhaps to emphasize the principal of mutual military defense that European colonials conceived to be part of treaty alliances.[34]

Museum exhibits of Native art and culture controlled by Natives, such as exhibits at the Musée Huron-Wendat in Wendake, often include objects produced for sale to outsiders rather than heritage objects used by Native people, because the latter were used until they fell apart, or were taken away by anthropologists and collectors, or, if extant, are closely guarded by tribal communities and not put on display. Museums controlled by non-Natives, such as the Smithsonian Museum of the American Indian, also often display such trade items, although they place the highest value upon objects with long-standing spiritual or ceremonial importance that, if genuine, frequently have led the tribes that created them to seek their repatriation. Ceremonial objects that appear in Tehariolin's self-portraits, such as the medals and wampum belts, can inspire viewers to interrogate the process by which a symbol of tradition and ritual might become a commercial object or souvenir curiosity and to question the distinction between originals and replicas.

In the commercial art or souvenir trade, neither the ceremonial use of an object, nor its provenance or authenticity, mattered to merchants as much as its production, sales, and revenues. The objects Tehariolin painted himself as wearing included some trade objects produced by his people for sale, such as bows and arrows, *couettes*, and pipe-tomahawks. In some of his extant drawings he depicted the production of snowshoes or moccasins by his tribespeople at Wendake (see fig. 6). The symbolism or association of these objects was not always elite and ceremonial; rather, it verged

on the common and commercial. In effect, Tehariolin may be saying "rather than buy those souvenir trinkets, or in addition to buying them, buy my portrait of myself wearing the trinkets." And as Ruth Phillips writes in her study of Native American art and the souvenir trade in the Northeast, French Canadians had also learned to produce some of the same souvenir objects associated with Indians, notably moosehair embroidery and birchbark baskets and boxes.[35] The market for souvenir art was large and expanding as travel and migration became easier in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, and United States and Anglophone Canadian customers were interested in curios of the quaint and "vanishing" French Canadians as well as of the Hurons and other Native peoples.[36]

Few of the extant works of Tehariolin are reliably dated. The self-portraits with his son Cyprien are dated to the early 1850s based on the apparent age of the child, and the series of self-portraits in regalia are likely from the 1850s and 1860s. A precise date of 1875 is available, however, for two photographs of Tehariolin working at his easel, taken in the studio of Louis-Prudent Vallée at 39 rue Saint-Jean, Quebec City.[37] In these photos Tehariolin is not wearing any medals, or *couettes*, or a feather headdress, nor is he holding a pipe-tomahawk, but the painting of himself on the easel does include many of these ornaments. It resembles the self-portrait in figure 3 and other works, in what I will call the regalia series. If he had another on his easel in 1875, this suggests that he continued to repeat these self-portraits over many years, contributing to the figure of six hundred works attributed to him in the obituary quoted above on page 23 (see endnote 7).

After posing in Vallée's photography studio, Tehariolin faced another struggle for control of his image, one that would be contested on terms different from those in operation when his portrait was painted by Plamondon in 1838, half a lifetime earlier. Issues identified by Walter Benjamin regarding "the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction" came to affect Tehariolin because "Vallée was one of the most prolific photographers in Quebec at the end of the nineteenth-century. Beginning in 1870 his production was aimed at the tourist market, notably through the sale of souvenir cards."[38] He marketed these cards, among other places, at Talbot and Co.'s Indian Bazaar in the Rue Saint-Louis in Quebec City. Another photo by Vallée of Tehariolin, a portrait of him standing and holding a bow, held in the archives of the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, appears also on a postcard conserved in the archives of the Musée National des Beaux Arts de Québec, indicating that Vallée was selling his images of Tehariolin in large numbers. Louise Vigneault believes Tehariolin may also have sold copies of the photograph himself, as a means of promoting his business as a painter.[39]

Walter Benjamin argued that "the unique value of the 'authentic' work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value," rituals such as the veneration of a statue of Venus by ancient Greeks. With the advent of photography, "mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual. . . . Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice—politics." Benjamin was likely thinking of fascist political leaders who promoted themselves in photographs, posters, and films.[40] The politics of the vanishing Indian, expressed in

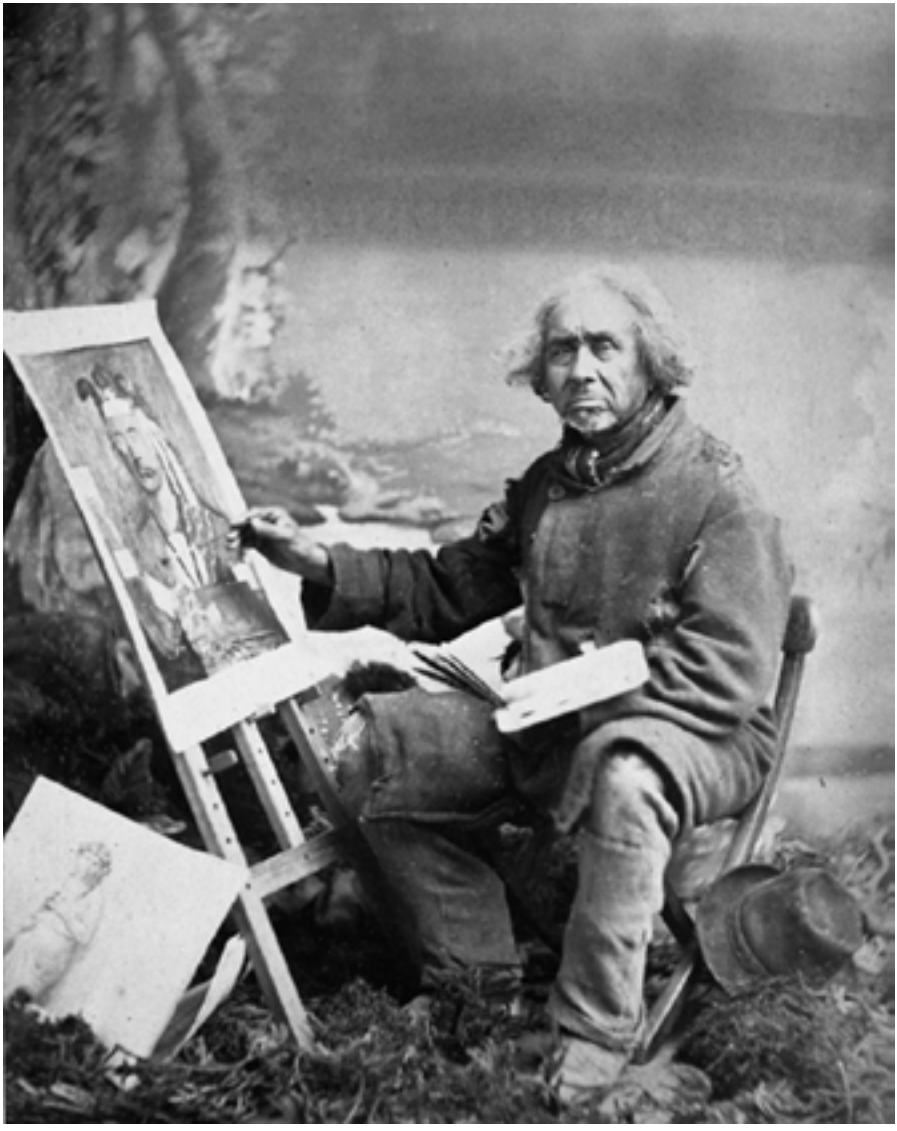

Figure 4: L-P Vallée, photograph of Zacharie Vincent at his easel. *Bibliotèque et Archives nationales de Québec, Montreal (public domain).*

portraits of Indian chiefs such as Plamondon's portrait of Zacharie Vincent, or George Catlin's and Charles Bird King's works, retained ritual elements of the sacrifices of captured enemy leaders. The cultish fascination with Tecumseh and his death and burial in Upper Canada, or with Osceola or other Native resistance leaders in the United States, reveal the morbid fascination of nineteenth-century Anglo-Americans with the killing of Native leaders.[41] Tehariolin in his work mocked and defied these

colonialist rituals ("as the prey imitates its predator," Vigneault phrases it) by demonstrating that he was not "The Last Huron," but that he continued to live and work to create more art and more images of himself. As a painter he was a craft worker, producing his works by hand one at a time. His paintings have an "aura," to use Benjamin's term, and an artist-function, as the prominent recent exhibitions of his work demonstrate. But during his own lifetime, as his self-portraits came to compete with Vallée's postcard photographs of him, and also with mass-produced objects of Native Canada that were being purchased either as souvenirs or for everyday use, such as snowshoes, the aura dissipated, and Tehariolin's livelihood as an artist may have became more tenuous.

Wendat scholar Anne-Marie Sioui has called attention to the differences between Tehariolin as he appears in the photos by Vallée and as he painted himself in self-portraits. As she interprets the photographs of Tehariolin at his easel (as well as two oil portraits of him by the Québecois painter Eugène Hamel), the images

> present to us an "ordinary" man dressed in European attire (like his compatriots at that time) but of a poverty that seems extreme and that clashes sharply with the beauty and richness of his "traditional" ornaments. The photograph of the artist painting himself is in this sense very explicit: we "see" Vincent in torn and dirty clothing, while at the same time he sees himself dressed in Amerindian costume. We perceive the appearances, whereas he represents the soul.[42]

Sioui emphasizes the contrast in Vallée's photo between the poor artist with no ornaments, and the artist's self-portrait festooned with (images of) prestige objects, trade goods, and crafts. But in place of Sioui's metaphysical contrast between essence and appearance, or soul and body, one might instead think of Tehariolin as an artist who found himself facing the problem confronted by many workers under industrial capitalism in nineteenth-century North America: his labor is alienated from his soul and his body. In addition, the traditional ornaments that appear in the portrait, but not on Tehariolin's person, no longer convey their former status of tradition and authenticity, and are no longer unique to the person who wears them. These ornaments had become commercialized, as Vigneault points out. Yet Sioui affirms the value of luxury accessories even as she disavows them: her parallel construction suggests that it is the painting of Tehariolin in regalia that has soul, whereas the painter Tehariolin sitting at his easel is a mere appearance.

In the portraits of the Huron painter at his easel made by Vallée in his studio in 1875 we see Tehariolin the artist diverging from Tehariolin the laborer. The artist, who enjoyed celebrity as "Le dernier Huron" more than thirty years before, and as a painter since twenty years before, is the man in the portrait on the easel, decked out in the regalia of a Huron leader. But due to the proliferation of postcard reproductions, portraits of Zacharie Vincent had lost their aura as an authentic or unique work and become a potential souvenir purchase, competing with many others. Consequently, the man holding the brushes in the photos of 1875, "in dusty and worn clothing," now appears less as an elite artist/craftsman than as a common manufacturing worker. The contrast becomes most meaningful in comparing the photos from Vallée's studio to a

Figure 5: *Zacharie Vincent*, Zacharie Vincent Telariolin chef huron et son portrait peint par lui-même [Zacharie Vincent Telariolin, Huron chief, and his portrait painted by himself]. *Image courtesy of MNBAQ (accession no. 1934.529).*

drawing, in very poor state of preservation, held at the Musée National des Beaux Arts de Québec.

The partly torn bilingual caption reads in English: "Zacharie Vincent Telariolin . . . his portrait painted by himself." The composition is very similar to the photos by Vallée. In this image, however, the painter holding a brush is also decked out in regalia, including sash, *couette*, medal, brossard, feathered crown with maltese cross, earrings, and, in place of the bow or pipe, a palette of paints he is using to paint an image of himself. This image is a meta-self-portrait, a self-portrait as reproduction suitable to an age of photography. The chiefly accessories on the painter are reproduced in the image on the easel, but in being reproduced lose their status and aura. They are no longer the regalia of a chief being painted by an artist hired to paint a portrait. Admittedly, a skilled portrait painter would not need his or her subject to wear, at every sitting, precisely the clothing and adornment shown in the finished portrait. Too, a painter wears old ragged clothes because he may splatter paint on them, and saves his best clothing for when he is not working. But in this self-portrait drawing, the painter is a reproduction of the painted subject, rather than the painting being a reproduction of a live sitting subject. The caption is written in block letters so as to resemble the title on the Chateau de Ramezay self-portrait, but also the caption that would be printed on a souvenir postcard. The image of the artist now reproduces itself in the darkroom, while the man in the photograph holding the brush is the artist reduced to worker who (re)produces commercial objects.

In Zacharie Vincent's extant self-portraits and Vallée's photographs of him, his face is remarkably consistent: the pronounced septum and deep wrinkles on either side of his nose and mouth; the dark straight brows and bags beneath his eyes; the thick coarse wavy hair parted in the middle and graying in his older years; and the angle of the face toward the viewer's left. As the various accessories in the self-portraits change, the face remains virtually the same. Tehariolin apparently was so well practiced at painting his own image that he did so as a serial copy. What Sioui referred to as his soul may be an effect of his gaze, and the emotional aura a viewer absorbs from it. The gaze is powerful, even though after examining many self-portraits it comes to seem too consistent to make a fresh emotional impact. Customers who bought only one self-portrait might not notice the eerie consistency, but as one looks at all the extant portraits, the unchanging face comes to seem alienated from the body and the changing clothing and ornaments that surround it.

Sociologist Léon Gérin visited Wendake in the 1890s and found a community reliant on trade and manufacturing labor. His main informant Thomas Tsioui (a common Wendake surname today spelled "Sioui"), who was born about 1820, married a woman named Louise Plamondon (relation to the painter unknown) and told Gérin that two of his sons worked for a railroad in Lowell, Massachusetts and a third in a *boulangerie*. In the mid-nineteenth century his sons were among thousands of French Canadians who migrated to the United States seeking work in industry. But there were also small industries in Wendake. Gérin wrote, "No sooner had I set foot in the village of Lorette than three or four children ran towards me to sell little objects they had made: curios in wood or straw, made by hand; arrows and miniature bows, little

Figure 6: *Zacharie Vincent,* Fabricant de raquette [Snowshoe maker]. *Image courtesy of Château Ramezay–Historic Site and Museum of Montréal.*

boxes and fans in various colors, tiny canoes steered by Indians of Lilliputian size."[43] The hides for the moccasin industry did not come from Huron hunters, nor even from the region, but most likely from the southeastern United States. The miniature canoes and bows symbolize a life of hunting and trading now reduced to identical *souvenirs* (French for "memories"). In the largest industry in Wendake, the manufacturing of moccasins, the workers were mostly women and girls: "The workers are paid piecework, at the rate of 25 or 30 cents for a dozen pairs. Thus they might make 30 or 50 cents per day, and even twice that much if they can use a sewing machine. And so many Huron women have acquired these machines."[44]

Gérin estimated that 140,000 pairs of moccasins and 7,000 pairs of snowshoes were being made in Jeune Lorette each year. Phillippe Vincent, Zacharie's uncle, was a "*commerçant de raquettes* (snowshoe salesman) who later sold his business to Maurice Bastien Agniohlen, also a Huron, who further developed both the moccasin and the snowshoe industries, according to Gérin.[45] Today the Bastien firm continues to manufacture and sell moccasins and tourist souvenirs in Wendake. Although Tehariolin was of a prominent family in Jeune Lorette, a chief and the son of a chief, social status in Wendake during the late-nineteenth century accrued to merchants and industrialists as much as or more than to hereditary tribal leaders.[46]

Toward the end of his long life Zacharie Vincent also worked in these industries. The Huron journalist André-Napoléon Montpetit in 1879 wrote of Tehariolin that in his prime:

> He took up palette and brush, sketched out a painting or a portrait, and went off to sell it as quickly as possible, even as a sketch . . . for a few dollars that he then spent in a few days . . . He lived by his canvases and drawings. He lived almost without working, because he only took up his brushes when penury or hunger forced him to do so. Two days of work would gain him perhaps a month of leisure.[47]

Montpetit indicates that Tehariolin was receiving good prices for his works at this earlier period, presumably in the 1850s and 1860s. But later in the article, in reference to the time he was writing, Montpetit struck a more sombre note: "Cari [Montpetit's nickname for Tehariolin] was reduced to painting signs. . . . Poor, often homeless, he left Quebec last January with one of his sons, to go to Sault Saint-Louis, two hundred miles from Lorette, where he aimed to find work making snowshoes."[48] Tehariolin turned to wage labor and traveled to Sault Saint-Louis, a Mohawk mission settlement near Montreal, and to the work practiced by the man he drew making snowshoes. Another source confirms his financial difficulties. A missionary at Wendake, Father Boucher, wrote: "Vincent was even forced to abandon his daughter, around twelve years of age, because he was unable to provide for her needs."[49]

Zacharie Vincent, the so-called "Last Huron," was part of an emerging working class that, alongside many *canadiens français* in the second half of the nineteenth century, were providing the labor for growing industries in Canada and the United States. In Wendake these industries were largely controlled by Huron businessmen. The scion of chiefs and an artist in the elite genres of portrait and landscape painting, Tehariolin now found himself among these workers. Yet this narrative of downward mobility itself diminishes the creativity of the artist, a man who must have known all along that art was work and that the medals and armbands in his self-portraits were symbols, not silver. As Tehariolin commodified his self-image, he participated in the economic forces around him while at the same time strongly resisting the myth of Native extinction. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the ideology of the vanishing Indian was devastating for tribal sovereignty in the United States and in Canada, but as consumer capitalism sought to commodify and profit on the vanishing Indian, the ideology's contradictions emerged. After all, the "last of" cliché is a common device to sell goods. Print, image, or theatrical works about the last noble chief enticed consumers with the promise of a relic, a singular death or disappearance that each consumer might experience through a powerful emotional response, as with the response of a worshipper in the presence of a saint's relic. However, because these engravings, novels, and dramas were repeated and reproduced, singular "lastness" proliferated indefinitely. There was no more "last"-ing value, and no end in sight for the Hurons. Singular lastness was an act of mimesis played on and/or by consumers, who imagined themselves as singular witnesses to an historic and affective event, when in fact they were each one among many. The "last of the tribe" cliché was always already a marketing trick, and the genius of the Huron artist Zacharie Vincent was

his reinvention and reincarnation of Huron identity in response to changing modes of reproduction and politics.

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to thank the Council on International Education and Exchange, and Fulbright Canada, for support through a 2012 research grant at Université Laval, where this project began. Staff at Le Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, and at the Archives du séminaire de Québec, helped locate images and documents. Special thanks to Louise Vigneault of the Université de Montréal for sharing some of her comprehensive research on Zacharie Vincent.

Notes

1. The painting bears an inscription on the reverse that reads: "*Le tableau est le Portrait du dernier des Hurons de Lorette. Il se nomme Zacarie [sic] Vincent. Il est agée de 23. Peint par Ant. Plamondon à québec 1838*" ["The painting is the portrait of the last of the Hurons of Lorette. He is named Zacharie Vincent. He is 23 years old. Painted by Ant{oine} Plamondon at Quebec, 1838"]; see François-Marc Gagnon, "Le dernier des Hurons. L'image de l'autre comme image de soi," in *Où va l'histoire de l'art contemporain?* ed. Laurence Bertrand Dorléac (Paris: L'image, 1997), 177–89; unless specifically cited, all English translations of French sources are my own. Plamondon was, according to a history of Canadian painting, "Quebec's second great master of these years" (that is, the English colonial period 1759–1867) after his teacher and mentor Joseph Légaré. See John Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 73.

2. Other "last of" titles include: Joseph Doddridge, *Logan, the Last of the Race of Shickellemus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation* (1823), and John Augustus Stone, *Metamora, or, The Last of the Wampanoags* (1829). In French Canada, the French exile writer Henri-Émile Chevalier contributed *Les derniers Iroquois* (1863), and the romantic heroine Yureska of the romance *La Huronne: scènes de la vie candienne* (1861). Jean O'Brien has documented many local stories of "last" Indians in New England in *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

3. Cooper's novel is set during the Seven Years War or "French and Indian War," which Québecois historians often refer to as "*La conquête anglaise*" ["the English conquest"] because it climaxed with the fall of Quebec City in 1759. Katie Trumpener has pointed out that the novels of Sir Walter Scott that inspired Cooper were also the model for early works of Canadian literature, notably Phillippe Aubert de Gaspé's *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863). In the formula as adapted from Scott, the Jacobites or indigenous Highland rebels of the Waverley novels equate to the American Indians and the French Canadians in North American versions. See Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 260–61.

4. Vincent's Wendat name has an orthographic polymorphism common in Native American studies. Some sources (such as the self-portrait in figure 3) spell it with an "l" as Telariolin, or as Téhariolin or Tehariulen. In the Huron/Wendat language Tehariolin has been glossed as "without mixture, not divided," which has been interpreted as a reference to his claim to be the last Huron of pure blood. However, in her most recent publication Louise Vigneault uses an "l" and cites the translation of a Wendat tribal archivist: "*l'expression évoque en fait une réalité dont les composantes se trouvent réunies de manière harmonieuse, suivant une résolution de conflits*" ["the expression in fact evokes a situation in which the constituents find themselves harmoniously reunited following a resolution

of conflicts"]; Vigneault, "Peinture et photographie chez Zacharie Vincent: l'autoreprésentation stratégique et efficiente d'un Huron-Wendat du 19e siècle," in *Errances photographiques: mobilité et intermédialité*, ed. Suzanne Paquet (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2014), 31.

5. The French demonym "*canadiens*" was used by Francophones descended from the French who had colonized Canada prior to the English conquest, and it carried a connotation of linguistic nationalism. The term is more accurate than "Québecois" which was used in the nineteenth century to refer not to inhabitants of the province, then called Lower Canada, but only for those of the city of Québec, the colonial administrative capital of French, and then of British, Canada until 1841.

6. The claim of "pure" Huron blood fit the romantic vanishing Indian trope, but is a myth on both genealogical and cultural levels. Zacharie's father *8en8adahronhé*, or Gabriel Vincent, had a "Bergevin," probably a Frenchman, among his ancestors, and married a woman named Marie Otis or Hotesse, said to be of Iroquois ancestry (the character "8" was a phonetic symbol commonly used by Jesuit missionaries and others to denote a "oua" sound in French or "w" in English; the letter "w" was not used in standard French at that time). Zacharie himself married a widow named Marie Falardeau, whose two earlier children had died young. See Louise Vigneault, *Zacharie Vincent, Life and Work*, Art Canada Institute/Institut de l'Art Canadien, 2014, www.aci-iac.ca/zacharie-vincent; and Vigneault and Isabelle Masse, "Les autorépresentations de l'artiste huron-wendat Zacharie Vincent (1815–1886): icônes d'une gloire politique et spirituelle," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 32, no. 2 (2011): 47, 67.

7. *Le Canadien*, December 2, 1886 ("*n'a pas fait moins de 600 croûtes de tout genre . . .Il en vendit aussi au gouverneurs généraux du Canada, Lord Durham, lord Elgin, la princesse Louise, etc.*"). The French obituary was anonymous, while an English version titled "The Huron Indian Artist" in *The Gazette* (Montreal) of February 1, 1887 bore the byline of William George Beers; qtd. in Anne-Marie Sioui, "Zacharie Vincent: Un Oeuvre Engagé? Essai d'Interpretation," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* XI, no. 4 (1981): 335. Beers was Tehariolin's patron for a time and today is famous for promoting the sport of lacrosse. James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin (1811–1863), married Lord Durham's daughter Mary and served as governor general of Canada and viceroy of India. The other dignitaries are John George Dodson, Lord Monk Bretton (1825–1897), and Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll (1843–1939), wife of John Campbell, duke of Argyll and Governor General of Canada (1878–1883). This Lord Elgin was the son of the Elgin who took to Britain marble friezes from the Parthenon in Athens, but he also collected souvenir art, as documented by Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900* (Seattle and Montreal: University of Washington and McGill/Queens University Presses, 1998), 147–50.

8. Musée de la Civilisation du Québec, *Objets de référence* (Québec: Musée de la Civilisation, 2011), 176 ("*dans l'Atelier de son auteur, Palais du Parlement*"); Harper, *Painting in Canada*, 74.

9. Len M. Findlay, "Spectres of Canada: Image, Text, Aura, Nation," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 667.

10. Findlay, "Spectres of Canada," 657, quoting Reid, *Life and Letters of the First Earl Durham* (London, 1906), vol. 1, 320. The same melancholy could apply to Zacharie Vincent and his family.

11. See Denis Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec: The Historical Development* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 97–98.

12. John George Lambton (1st Earl Durham), *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 16.

13. Ibid., 292.

14. Ibid., 294. In response to Durham's claim that "they have no history" it is worth pointing out that one of the major books on the history of the Huron-Wendat people, *La nation huronne, son histoire, sa culture, son esprit* (Québec, 1984), was written by Zacharie Vincent's great-niece Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, who also adopted his name (with a feminine ending).

15. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). Among the many studies of United States manifest destiny and vanishing Indian ideology, Patrick Brantlinger's "Forgetting Genocide: or, The Last of the Last of the Mohicans," *Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (1998): 15–30, doi:10.1080/095023898335591, stands out, inasmuch as it discusses Scotland and Australia as well as North America.

16. ("*nous-mêmes, peut-être, nous disparaîtront devant une nation plus puissante. Le fort chasse le faible; c'est en deux mots toute l'histoire des fils d'Adam; et le tableau de M. Plamondon nous en déroule en petit coin. . . . Puissions-nous élever quelques monuments de nous-mêmes avant d'être en-gloutis dans le flot de l'émigration!*"). *Le Canadien*, which was, along with *La Minerve*, among the first patriotic French newspapers in Canada, had already, in 1810, been shut down by the English authorities, its type confiscated and editors detained. See Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec*, 93.

17. *Le Canadien*, qtd. in Louise Vigneault, "Résurgence du sujet autochtone dans les arts visuels au Québec: effet miroir et présence du refoulé," *Tangeance* 85 (2007): 71. Population figures are from Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec*, 94. Henry David Thoreau, *A Yankee in Canada, with Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1881), 62.

18. The landmark study of the phenomenon is Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

19. Vigneault, "Résurgence du sujet autochtone," 69–70 ("*Si, du côté Anglophone, des artistes comme Paul Kane (1810–1871) et Emily Carr (1871–1945) se sont donné pour mission de capter les traces des cultures autochtones en voie de disparition, en adoptant un regard partagé entre la fascination et le souci de préservation, il semble que, pour les Francophones, cet attrait aurait plutôt été légitimé par un sentiment d'empathie et un réflexe d'identification à ces mêmes cultures*"; Gagnon, "Le Dernier des Hurons," 187. ("*l'Indien sert moins de motif exotique que de prétexte à peindre des sentiments partagés par les Candiens français*"). Among French Canadian artists the most prominent were Jospeh Légaré (1795–1855), a strong nationalist who employed Antoine Plamondon as an apprentice, and Cornelius Kreighoff (1815–1872), a genre and landscape painter who occasionally hired Zacharie Vincent as a hunting guide.

20. Garneau, "Le Dernier Huron," *Le Canadien* August 12, 1840, 1 ("*L'idée de la pièce de vers qui suit, est due au tableau de notre artiste M. Plamondon, qui a remporté le prix annuel offert par la Société littéraire de Quebec en 1838, et dont Lord Durham a fait l'acquisition. Ce tableau est un portrait en pied de Vincent Teha-ri-o-lin. . . . Quelles doivent être amères les réflexions du jeune indien, lorsque ses regards se portent sur le passé, lui dont les ancêtres dominaient, il n'a guère plus de deux cents ans, sur une partie de ce vaste pays?*"); repr. in Garneau, *Poèmes*, ed. François Dumont (Québec: Nota bene, 2008), 112–17.

21. This trope operates in painting as well as literature. Thomas Cole's "The Course of Empire" series (1833–1836, New York Historical Society) is a well-known example. Another example specific to the *canadiens* is Joseph Légaré's "Paysage au monument de Wolfe" (c. 1840, Musée national de beaux-arts du Québec), which depicts a statue of General Wolfe surrounded by gnarled trees as if in a distant future when no urban public space exists to venerate him. Gagnon, "Le Dernier des Hurons," also discusses Légaré's painting as an allegory of *canadien* nationalism.

22. Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction," *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3.

23. Vigneault and Masse, "Les autorépresentations de l'artiste huron-wendat Zacharie Vincent," 41; Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 63. Among other recent scholarship on the topic I call attention to Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), because although it examines a different region, it emphasizes how Native laborers in agriculture and industry managed to adapt their work for modern commodity markets, such as selling fish or baskets, into traditional cycles and ceremonies.

24. Fiona Stafford, *The Last of the Race* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) is an excellent study of this phenomenon eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature and culture, including MacPherson's *Ossian*, Lord Byron, Mary Shelley, and J. F. Cooper.

25. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); Alan McNairn, *Behold the Hero: General Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill/Queens University Press, 1997), 144–46.

26. Another son, Gabriel, had died within a year of his birth on July 20, 1850, and another, Zacharie, born June 3, 1852, would die in 1855. The couple also had a daughter Marie, born May 1, 1854, who died in 1884. Neither Marie nor Cyprien left any descendants.

27. Gagnon, "Le dernier des Hurons," 178–79, defines the word "*couette*" (distinct from its signification in modern French as quilt or duvet) as "*disques d'argent que les marchands échangeaient contre de la fourrure avec les Indiens. Ces disques étaient fabriqués en série par les orfèvres canadiens*" ("silver disks that the merchants exchanged for furs from the Indians. Such disks were made in large numbers by Canadian silver/goldsmiths").

28. It is significant that there are no surviving portraits by Tehariolin of his wife or daughters. The struggle of "lasting" and surviving was implicitly patriarchal. Carolyn Merchant has famously argued that the processes of social and biological reproduction has been feminized and marginalized in favor of the processes of economic production. As an artist and father, Tehariolin participated in both processes. Sales of his numerous self-portraits supported his family, even as he was producing heirs who might contradict his status as "dernier Huron." See Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 167–90.

29. *Le Canadien*, April 30, 1838, qtd. in Gagnon and Yves Lacasse, "Antoine Plamondon Le dernier des Hurons (1838)," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 12, no. 1 (1989): 70 ("*Lorsqu'on fixe pour la première fois ses longs cheveux noirs, bouclés et flottant sur ses épaules, ses traits éminemment caractéristiques, son teint cuivré, ses yeux étincellants [sic], sa belle draperie de couverte, sa ceinture à laquelle est suspendue* [sic] *son coutelas, on reconnaît bien le fils des hommes libres, le chasseur et le guerrier des vastes forêts, le canoteur des grands lacs, le dernier rejeton d'une nation noble et intrépide, qui a disparu devant nous comme le castor de nos rivières, les élans de nos bois*"). Gagnon, in "Le dernier des Hurons," explains reasons for attributing the newspaper story to Plamondon.

30. Lionel Lindsay, *Notre-Dame de la jeune Lorette en la Nouvelle-France : étude historique* (Montréal, 1900), qtd. in Louise Vigneault, "Zacharie Vincent: dernier huron et premier artiste Autochtone de la tradition occidentale," *Mens* 6, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 254, doi: 10.7202/1024304 ("*Jusqu'en 1854, on distribuait annuellement à la plupart des familles du village de Lorette des articles divers qu'on désignait sous le nom de « présents du Roi » [. . .] qui consistaient en munitions de chasse (poudre, balles, plomb, etc.) en couvertures de laine, drap bleu, indienne, couteaux, chaudières de cuivre, etc. On donnait aussi aux chefs, après leur élection, et de la part du souverain régnant, une riche et belle médaille en argent, frappée à l'effigie du roi ou de la reine d'Angleterre*").

31. See endnote 27.

32. "*Ces parures dérivent bien souvent des ornements traditionnels adaptés aux objets coloniaux: par exemple, les broches d'argent étaient traditionnellement fabriquées avec des coquillages.*" Louise Vigneault, *Zacharie Vincent: Sa vie et son œuvre*, Art Canada Institute/Institut de l'art canadien online art book (Ottawa, 2014), 23. The English translation of this bilingual publication reads somewhat differently: "The brooch is unusually large, harking back to traditional circular ornaments of white shell."

33. Vigneault, "Zacharie Vincent: dernier huron et premier artiste," 257 ("*En juxtaposant toutefois des éléments issus de la culture occidentale au matériel culturel autochtone, Vincent évitait que ses œuvres soient considérées par l'élite comme des objets commerciaux parmi tant d'autres ou comme de simples curiosités. Ainsi, l'artiste ne refoulait pas la réalité du métissage culturel, affirmant au contraire son existence*

pour mieux la transgresser, tout comme la proie imite son prédateur, de façon à le duper et à échapper ainsi à son emprise").

34. See Laurier Turgeon, "The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 1–29; Vigneault, "Peinture et photographie chez Zacharie Vincent," 34–36. A tomahawk-pipe is in the permanent collection of the Musée Huron-Wendat, dated 1825, with no information about its provenance or use. On the ambivalent symbolism of the calumet, which originated in the Mississippi and Ohio Valley regions, and was less often used in the Northeast, see Brett Rushforth, *Bounds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 30–34.

35. See Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 106–09.

36. Ibid. In fact, in the 1840s and 1850s, *canadien* leaders were promoting a reactionary policy of agrarian settlement, hoping to reduce emigration to New England to work in factories and to other parts of Canada to work in English-owned mines, and to establish new towns and farms in previously undeveloped regions of Quebec, such as the Saguenay/Lac Saint-Jean region.

37. One of two versions of this photo is reproduced in Marie-Dominique Labelle and Sylvie Thivierge, "Un peintre huron au XIXe siècle : Zacharie Vincent", *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 11: 4 (1981), 333–335, and on the BANQ Pistard database with the catalog number P100, S4, D83, PV19-2. The other is in the Archives du Petit Séminaire, Quebec City. The reverse of the photo print in the Séminaire archives has a printed inscription: "L. P. Vallée, Photographe, 39 rue Saint-Jean, Québec," and a handwritten caption: "Sauvage de la tribu huronne de Lorette, nommé Zacharie, artiste peintre," and an archivist added in pencil "ph. 87 1875."

38. From an exhibit in the Québec parliament building, summer 2012 ("*Vallée est l'un de photographes les plus prolifiques à Québec à la fin du XIXième siècle. À partir de 1870, sa production s'oriente vers le marché touristique, notamment par la vente des cartes souvenirs*").

39. Louise Vigneault, "Peinture et photographie chez Zacharie Vincent," 37; and personal communication, June 2012. For more on postcards and ethnography, see Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 66.

40. Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 223–24.

41. Guy St-Denis, *Tecumseh's Bones* (Montreal: McGill/Queens University Press, 2005); Patricia R. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991); and Gordon Sayre, *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero: Native Resistance and the Literatures of America, from Moctezuma to Tecumseh* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

42. Sioui, "Zacharie Vincent," 335 ("*nous présentent un homme 'ordinaire' vêtus 'à l'européenne (comme tous ses concitoyens à l'époque) mais d'une pauvreté qui semble extrême et qui tranche de façon nette avec la beauté et la richesse des parures 'traditionelles.' La photographie de l'artiste se peignant est à ce sujet très explicites: nous 'voyons' Vincent en habits poussiéreux et délabrés, lui se voit simultanément revêtu du costume amérindien. Nous percevons les apparences, tandis qu'il représente l'âme*").

43. Gérin, "Le Huron de Lorette" (Parts 1 and 2), *Science sociale suivant la méthode d'observation*, ed. Edmond Demolins Paris, 1901–1902, repr. in *Les Hurons de Lorette*, ed. Denis Vaugeois (Sillery, Quebec: Septentrion, 1996), 31–32 ("*À peine avais-je mis le pied dans le village de Lorette, que trois ou quatre enfans accouraient pour me vendre divers menus articles de leur fabrication: objets de fantasie, en bois ou en foin d'odeur, faits à la main, flèches, arcs en miniature, petits étuis ou évantails de couleurs variées, miniscules canots montés par des sauvages de taille liliputienne*").

44. Gérin, "Le Huron de Lorette," 34 ("*les ouvrières sont payées à la tâche, au taux de 25 ou 30 sous la douzaine de paires. Elles peuvent ainsi gagner 30 à 50 sous par jour, et même deux fois cette somme,*

dans les cas où la machine à coudre peut être employée. Aussi nombre de Huronnes ont-elles fait l'acquisition d'une de ces machines").

45. Ibid., 35. On the snowshoe trade in Wendake, see also Vigneault, *Zacharie Vincent: His Life and Work*, 33.

46. Fonds Prosper Vincent, Archives du Séminaire de Québec.

47. Montpetit, "La Jeune- Lorette (Pour faire suite à Tahourenché) (Suite)" *L'Opinion publique*, May 29, 1879, qtd. in Vigneault and Masse, "Les autoréprésentations," 61–62 ("*il prenait pinceaux et palette, esquissait un tableau ou un portrait, et s'en allait le vendre au plus vite, à peine ébauché, pour quelques dollars qu'il dissipait en quelques jours. . .il vécut de ses toiles et de ses dessins. Il vécut sans travailler presque, car il ne reprenait ses pinceaux que lorsque la misère et même la faim les luis rapportaient. Deux jours de travail lui procuraient parfois un mois de flânerie*").

48. Montpetit, qtd. in Vigneault and Masse, "Les autorépresentations," 62 ("*Cari dût se faire peindre d'enseignes. . . . Pauvre, quasi-mendicant, il quittait Québec, en janvier dernier, avec un de ses fils, pour se rendre au Sault Saint-Louis, à deux cent milles de Lorette, ou il comptait fabriquer des raquettes*").

49. See Véronique Rozon, "Pour une réflexion sur l'identité huronne au XIXe siècle: une analyze de la thématique du 'Dernier des Hurons' sous l'éclairage des théories de l'ethnicité," in *La recherche relative aux Autochtones: Perspectives historiques et contemporaines*, ed. Alain Beaulieu and Maxime Gohier (Montréal: Chaire de la Recherche du Canada sur la question territoriale autochtone, 2007), 250 ("*Vincent aurait même été forcé d'abandonner sa fille âgée d'une dizaine d'années, car il était incapable de subvenir à ses besoins*").